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use in the same way as the Persian traveller uses his fastest mule; on this animal, called the *abdari* mule, he puts his bedding, his prayer-carpet, his samovar and cups, his water-jug, some food and his personal servant. This is a good plan, for it minimizes the discomfort of arriving at a cheerless *manzil* (stage) long before one's caravan.

No less than four different farewell tea-drinkings at various points along the road leading out of Yarkand delayed our final departure till nearly midday. Two hours' trot-and-canter through a perfectly flat country of wide fields, heavy timber, canals and prosperous-looking farms brought us to the house of a wealthy British subject of Chitral extraction who had a complicated dispute concerning rights of way and water with his next-door neighbour, a Kashmiri colonist. After toying for a while with various dishes and sipping tea, D. went in to see the ladies of the house and I sallied forth with the parties and went over the points in dispute with them on the spot. When I thought that the incessant cross-fire of argument and vociferation from both sides (so like the Indian and so unlike the easy-going Turki) had continued long enough I cut it short by firmly framing issues and referring them to a more or less unwilling committee of greybeards with strict injunctions to submit their decisions on my return from Keriya. No one will be more surprised than myself if well-thought-out replies on all issues are handed in to me by the arbitrators in due course; my hope merely is that the greybeards in question will succeed in bringing about a reconciliation between the parties and thus free themselves from the responsibility of deciding on my issues.

A few miles further on we came to the Yarkand or (as it is called lower down) Tarim River, an interesting stream. Its upper reaches drain some of the most difficult country in the world, the untrodden solitudes of Oprang and the terrible Raskam gorges on the north side of the main Karakoram range; then for a thousand miles it forces its way through the dread Takla Makan Desert, only to lose itself at last in the lakes and marshes of Lop Nor, last remnant of what was once a great Central Asian Sea. In November the various channels can be forded easily on horseback; but the volume both of water and of traffic in summer is shown by the number of large, clumsy ferry-boats one sees pulled up on the beach on both sides of the two main channels.

Posgam is a new district which has been carved out of the unwieldy Karghalik charge and placed under a Magistrate of the third class. A Yamen and fine new bazaars are being built of timber by the Chinese to the east of the village. This is only one of several new districts, the formation of which has been necessitated by the increase of population and the spread of cultivation during the last thirty years.

Karghalik, 13th November, 1922.

We had a remarkable experience yesterday when two squadrons of cavalry turned out in force to escort us into this town. One of them with its band and numerous banners marched in front of us, and the other with its band and even more banners brought up the rear. The bands both played at the same time, but their repertoire being limited they filled in the gaps by playing scales on their trumpets against one another. Just as the rear band was starting with its

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lowest note, like the dying moo of ten thousand stricken kine, the one in front would be finishing with its highest, which resembled a similar number of nails being drawn across a gigantic pane of glass. Each note went on for about two minutes, in an irregular diminuendo and crescendo as the various trumpeters lost their breaths and found them again. We have christened this performance "Ma noises" after the gallant Commandant, Captain Ma, a son-in-law of the Titai.

Apart from the dust they raise and the excruciating sounds they emit, the Karghalik Cavalry and their band are a pure joy. Yesterday as we rode past the guard of honour the *beau sabreur* in command gave us the "officer's salute" with the utmost smartness. I was much impressed and rode past wreathed in smiles, my hat raised with due civilian humility. The effect, however, was somewhat spoilt when, the officer's charger becoming restive, he whacked it soundly on the quarters with the flat of his sword several times before returning to the correct position! On another occasion, coming suddenly round a corner upon the cavalry, we caught the "Ma noise" merchant who led the band napping without his trumpet. Frantic shouting and hurrying to and fro, and all seemed lost, until the small street-boy who had been practising with the trumpet across the road dashed over and handed it to its rightful owner, who blew his first ear-splitting C just in time to make our horses shy as we passed. The situation was saved!

The presence of so many mounted troops here must have something to do with the fact that the grazing in the mountains above Karghalik is very good and it is a great horse-producing country, witness the thousands of ponies working on the Leh route which are owned by Karghalik carriers. The Amban here is a Manchu, the only Magistrate of that redoubtable race we have in Kashgaria; one notices at once the difference in type, the upper part of his face being almost like a European's, not flat like that of a Chinese.

Karghalik, 15th November.

The dinner with which we were entertained to-day at the Yamen was unique in that three Chinese ladies were present, including our Manchu host's wife, next whom I sat just as if she had been a "foreign devil" like myself. It was most interesting. The ladies were shy at first, but when D. and our Chinese secretary had succeeded in putting them at their ease they thoroughly entered into the joke and the party went very well. There were also some children present, one of whom, a girl of ten, was as pretty as a picture, and knew it; sad to say, she was painted up to the eyes. An amusing interlude was when an old and battered tin of asparagus was produced and our host asked me to read him the instructions. He explained that it had been given him by a former English traveller who had dined with him, but he had not been able to have it for dinner as no one in his household could read the instructions. We are now wondering how long it will be before symptoms of botulism appear.

Goma, 18th November.

Owing to the extreme knottiness of the points raised by the Amban, I had to extend our stay at Karghalik from three days to six; this

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methods by which the unscrupulous General exploited his command. One illustration will suffice. The chief product of his shale-oil workings at Kanjugan, 30 miles west of Kashgar, was kerosene, which was in great request owing to the failure of the Russian supplies. This he sold at monopoly prices to the public, including ourselves at the Consulate. But for certain by-products of the New City refinery, such as paraffin wax, there was little demand. Accordingly in the winter of 1923–4, the Titai conceived the idea of portioning out the two towns into wards and appointing certain Begs and other trusty henchmen to distribute so much paraffin wax *per mensem* to each shopkeeper, whether he wanted it or not, at a fixed rate. The cobblers, who used wax in their trade, had to take double rations. Very soon complaints began to be heard, which were eventually voiced by the Aqsaqal or headman of the cobblers. He petitioned the Titai to let the cobblers off taking any more of his wax, as they were overstocked, besides which they preferred bees'-wax. The Titai's answer to this petition was to have the man beaten to death, and to fine his widow so heavily that she had to sell the house over her head to pay the fine. As might be expected, the underlings engaged in the distribution of the wax lined their own pockets liberally. They took to compounding with the shopkeepers at so much a head, and the forced sale developed into a regular monthly tax on shopkeepers. The distributors ceased to confine their depredations to the towns of Old and New Kashgar and sent agents all over the districts collecting the wax *gabelle* from petty shopkeepers in the remotest villages.

Apart from his industrial enterprises and his more direct methods of robbery and extortion, the Titai drew large sums from the Kashgar Treasury for the upkeep of the troops with which he was supposed to guard the frontier and garrison the towns. Needless to say, not a tenth of these sums was spent. The nominal strength of the Titai's forces was between 4,000 and 5,000; the actual number maintained may have been about 500. Most of these were quarter-trained, opium-sodden wretches who received neither pay, rations nor equipment, and lived on the country by virtue of the fear inspired by their terrible chief, and the antiquated (and in most cases quite useless) carbines they carried. But the Titai was wrong in thinking that he could eat his cake and have it, for his Gilbertian army proved his downfall.

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After spending a cold and uncomfortable night at Khafa Gumbaz (the name means "Domes of Wrath") we emerged on to the Pamirs by the windy gate of Bulunkul and camped at a little mud fort south of the lake amid typical Pamir scenery. The garrison of this lonely post consisted of an out-at-elbows lieutenant and three men, all married to Kirghiz women. One of the soldiers interested me very much. A hawk-nosed, black-avised, alert little man in an enormous astrakhan hat appeared at the door of our *aq-oi* with an accordion in his hands, stood to attention smartly and entered without further ado. He told me he was a Russian Kirghiz from Tokmak in Semirechia, whence he had come three years before; he looked to me more like a Noghai or "Tartar," but might have been a Tartar-Kirghiz half-breed. He was very friendly and insisted on treating us to a concert on his "garmonie" (the Russian form of the word "harmonium" which they use for accordion). On that wheezy old instrument he played various long and unmelodious tunes in our tiny *aq-oi*. It was a painful performance, but we hated to hurt his feelings and were most appreciative; he was so very obviously a spy from across the frontier, and in so lonely and desolate a spot we could well understand his joy at finding at last a job of work to do.

During the next four days we wandered unhurriedly across the Lake District of the Chinese Pamirs, halting a day close to the north shore of the Little Qara Kul and another at Subashi. Here the Qungur and Muz Tagh Ata massifs stood round us in a vast amphitheatre, their dazzling domes and ridges of ice reflected exquisitely in the sapphire waters of the lakes. It was a pleasant time; the weather was perfect and the Kirghiz charming; sport was good, the lakes and marshes teeming with geese, ducks, teal and snipe. Near the Qara Kul we were met by our old friend Nadir Beg, the tall and jovial "British Watchman in Sarikol," with a regular cortège of Kirghiz and the inevitable wayside tea-drinking. Earlier in the same day we had an interesting *rencontre*. A party of about twenty travel-stained and weather-beaten old men clad in ragged sheepskin cloaks and hats came riding northwards over the pamir. They proved to be Turki pilgrims returning from Mecca, the remnants of a party of fifty or more who had left Kashgar in April for the Holy Cities. They had had a terrible time, they said, on the high passes of the Hindu Kush between Tashqurghan and Chitral, and several of the

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a proponent of the theory of climatic alternations, called the phenomenon "the pulse of Asia."

The most important of the multiple influences is believed to be that of the economic effects of climatic changes. When the climate is warm and moist, the land of the nomads is fertile enough to support the nomads and their herds, but when the climate becomes drier and colder, the rivers and lakes shrink and the pasturage is reduced. This cuts down the food supply and forces the nomads to rampage into the land of their neighbors. Speaking of the thirteenth century, Arnold Toynbee declared that the "paroxysm of aridity coincided in date with the demoniac eruption of the Mongols, and it will be seen that the physiographical recoil towards humidity likewise corresponds in date with the rapid ebb of the Mongols." (A Study of History, vol. III, p. 439).

Although the outbursts and recessions of the nomads were periodic, the rigid periodization was too mechanical and many scholars have discredited climate as the sole factor. Huntington suggests that four factors may have impelled the huge migration of the nomadic peoples, namely: climate, the inherent quality of the people especially as manifested by the leaders, the pull exerted by the wealth and the opportunities of the agricultural lands, and the push exerted by over-population. (Mainsprings of Civilization, p. 568).

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A period of peace and prosperity would allow the population of the nomads to increase. However, in the desolate steppes, food was dependent upon flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and horses, and the people, unlike their sedentary neighbors, did not have the tradition nor the facilities for food storage. Any sudden change in climate which caused a reduction of pasturage and water supply would create a 'time of troubles" and compel the nomadic people to migrate in search of food and pasturage.

When the nomads were experiencing a "time of troubles," the lush riches and the military weakness of the settled peoples would tempt border tribes to encroach upon the agrarian regions. Distress and discontent at home and the lure of wealth abroad furnish the push and the pull of Toynbee's theories. When the leavening of bold leadership and ideas were added, the nomads often were induced to burst out from the steppes of Asia and to set the world in commotion.

Other scholars entirely discount the influence of climate and seek the explanation for the advance and withdrawal of the nomads in social and political conditions. Owen Lattimore, who has given much thought to this question, (cf. Inner Asian Frontiers, passim), lists a number of reasons other than climate, for the eruption of the nomads. There were, for example, technological factors like the invention of the powerful compound bow and the technique of mounted archery which gave the nomads an edge over their enemies.

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The Chinese had to adopt the nomad bow and the technique of mounted archery before they could meet the nomads on equal terms.

Another factor, according to Lattimore, was the pastoral economy of the nomads which led to migration. Horses and cattle cannot graze on fields that have been cropped by sheep and goats. Therefore, the nomads whose livelihood depended upon their herds and flocks, must continually seek new pastures. The claims to pasturelands and the right of movement led to wars. The continuous wars stimulated the rise of leaders, hard-headed men who survived the hurly-burly of warfare and politics of the steppes and deserts. Finally, a supreme leader emerged who would then weld the various groups into a grand confederation strong enough to encroach upon the neighboring regions for land, for the profits of trade, and for revenue and tribute from the conquered peoples.

According to Lattimore, the nomads who invaded the marginal zone between the steppes and the settled lands, were not pure nomads but were semi-settled. Their wars of conquest were not only for pastures for their herds and flocks but for land, for the riches of the cities, and for the proceeds of commerce. Moreover, the cycles of their invasion and retreat began only a few centuries before the Christian era when they split from the settled peoples on China's northwestern frontier and when they acquired the technology of nomadic warfare. The true nomads on the steppes evolved from the mixed nomads, not vice versa.

The migrations which led to conquest over a wide area, such as those carried out by the Huns, the Turks and the Mongols, normally did not begin with the true nomads but with the mixed nomads, and were caused by (1) a group breaking away from the mixed nomads in order to become true nomads; or (2) a group breaking away from the true nomads in order to revert back to mixed nomadism. The Huns, Turks, and Mongols had fixed bases of operation and their conquests were for land.

Under these circumstances, according to Lattimore, the cycles of nomadic expansion and withdrawal each went through the following process:

1. The maintenance of large armies of mounted warriors to conquer land for the profit of trade and revenue from subject peoples;
2. A dichotomy of nomad society. The nomadic warriors who went forth to conquer and who were left to garrison conquered territories had control of the sources of wealth but declined militarily. The warriors who stayed in the steppes as the military reserve continued to be warlike but gradually became impoverished;
3. A split within the nomad state between those in the conquered areas and those in the steppes, leading to decline and and withdrawal.

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6. Summary

In summary, the workings of the historical process represented